divpol

Diversity in Political Parties' Programmes, Organisation and Representation
Executive Summary

CJD Hamburg + Eutin

DIVPOL

Diversity in Political Parties' Programmes, Organisation and Representation

DIVPOL is an EU-project designed to initiate, assess, support and evaluate diversity development processes with regard to ethnic diversity in political parties in eight EU member states. It ran from 2012 to 2014. The project aimed to raise awareness and develop practical recommendations and tools to promote diversity development in parties and improve the chances of participation for third-country nationals. Research institutes, universities, NGOs and ministerial bodies, migrant organisations and political parties in eight EU-member states were involved.[1] In the 20-month project run-time over 500 politicians of immigrant and autochthone backgrounds, representatives of migrant organisations and experts were interviewed, attended workshops or participated in dissemination events. The project was co-financed by the European Commission in the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals.

The following document is the executive summary of the results. The full DIVPOL report can be found on www.cjd-eutin.eu/149.0.html.

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[1] The DIVPOL partners are:
ACIDI – High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (Portugal)
CJD Hamburg + Eutin – Christian Association of Youth Villages (Germany, coordinator)
Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm (Sweden)
GRITIM – Interdisciplinary Research Group on Immigration, University Pompeu Fabra (Spain)
IPRS – Psychoanalytic Institute for Social Research (Italy)
Łazarski University (Poland)
MPG – Migration Policy Group (Belgium) as transnational non-research partner
The Integration Centre (Ireland)
Each partner involved political parties and migrant organisations in their member state as associate partners.

Executive Summary

Mapping Factors which Hinder or Support Participation of Immigrants and Diversity-Development in Political Parties in Seven European Countries

In the empirical study of the DIVPOL project 269 representatives of political parties and migrant organisations and seven experts were interviewed in 2013 in seven European countries (DE, ES, IE, IT, PL, PT, SE). Altogether, 38 political parties and 53 migrant organisations were involved.

The main obstacle for immigrants and people of immigrant background to political involvement is electoral representation. Political parties are still failing to represent the diversity of European societies within their ranks. In all DIVPOL partner countries politicians of immigrant background are under-represented in both local and national parliaments. Due to a lack of equality data it is not possible in any of the parties involved in DIVPOL to say whether the proportion of non-EU citizens among the membership reflects their numbers in the population. Hence, an overall quantitative assessment is not feasible. Few parties record data on the nationality or ethnic background of their members, although some published figures suggest a significant under-representation for this group.[2]

In this report the term "people of immigrant background" (IB) will be used to denote people of non-European background, who are often referred to as third-country nationals (TCN) or people of third-country background.[3] While using this definition for this study, it should be pointed out that it is often people "marked as migrants"[4] who experience exclusion. Multiple discrimination is determined by a variety of identity markers. It is intersectional and influences various exclusionary practices in a number of different contexts.

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2 For example, according to the German Social Democrats (SPD) the proportion of foreign members was about 1% in 2004, while the proportion of foreigners in the German population was 8.9% (Eurostat data, 2004).

3 The definition of "immigrant background" is derived from the Microcensus definition of "Migrationshintergrund" of the German Federal Statistical Office, which refers to a person that has either immigrated to Germany after 1949, was born in Germany as a foreigner or has at least one immigrated parent or a parent born as foreigner (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2011). In DIVPOL, the focus is on people who have immigrated into an EU-member state from a "third country".

4 People marked as migrant are those who, on account of their appearance (skin colour, hair and eye colour), their name or their accent are regarded as migrants by others.

1 Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals in Political Parties

In almost all European countries involved in DIVPOL only citizens hold national voting rights. The exceptions to this are Brazilians in Portugal and Britons in Ireland, who can vote and be elected at national level.

At local election level, the situation for TCN is more diverse: The most restrictive legislation of the DIVPOL countries exist in Italy, Germany and Poland, where TCN are excluded from local voting rights. In Poland it is against the Constitution for non-citizens to join a political party. In Portugal and Spain the principle of reciprocity means that some TCN can participate in the decision-making process at local level while others cannot. The most favourable rights exist in Ireland where everyone resident in the state can vote and run in local elections after 6 months' of residency (passive voting rights for TCN since 1963, active since 1974) and in Sweden where any legally residing TCN can, after a minimum residency period of 3 years, participate both as voter and candidate in local elections (since 1975).

Legislation on voting rights and approaches to naturalisation and dual citizenship are very progressive in some countries (IE, PT, SE) and more restrictive in others (DE, IT, ES). This results in opportunities for political participation for TCN in Europe not only being fairly limited, but also very unevenly distributed.

This limited and unfair access to political rights is seen as a problem by some politicians and most migrant organisations. These organisations stress the importance of political parties to lobby for immigrants' voting rights. Some see local voting rights as only an intermediate step and note the importance of easier access to citizenship, including the right to dual citizenship. Interestingly, in our study we found very little correlation between progressive legislation on voting rights and citizenship and the actual participation of migrants in (local) politics: Both in Ireland and Sweden migrants are consistently under-represented in local politics. It seems that even the removal of formal barriers is not enough as many more informal barriers are at play.

Joining a political party: In almost all DIVPOL countries (except for Poland) no legal obstacles exist for TCN to join political parties. In Germany, Spain, Sweden and Ireland TCN can join any political party, although some of the parties have minimum residency requirements. In Italy the left-wing parties allow membership, whereas the right-wing parties do not. In Portugal, TCN can join most parties; restrictions apply in one party for TCN not falling under the reciprocity agreement. This means in many parties throughout Europe there is a participation gap: TCN can join a party, but the law does not allow them to vote or run as candidates. Internally, however, many parties allow TCN to hold inner-party positions. Naturalised interviewees formerly of non-European nationality view this very positively and say that being able to participate in internal party elections as TCN makes them feel "welcome" in the party structure.

Local groups of the Green Party in Germany conduct dual elections to allow TCN at least a symbolic form of co-determination. Some parties have established special

forums, groups and campaigns aimed specifically at people of immigrant background in order to encourage their participation and involvement. Unfortunately, some of these groups are currently inactive, their activities are not structurally anchored, and their networks are volatile and/or dependent on individual people.

2 Access/ Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

Outreach: Many political parties in Europe face a shrinking membership base because of a general disenchantment with politics. Despite the incentive to try actively to reach new groups, political parties are particularly ineffective when it comes to attracting people of immigrant background. Even though parties are currently running a number of schemes to reach out to immigrants and immigrants' communities (e.g. in DE, IE, ES), the number of large-scale and structurally anchored campaigns explicitly inviting immigrants to affiliate themselves to a party is negligible. One example of good practice is the targeted scheme 'Opening Power to Diversity'. This started in Ireland in 2011 and involved placing TCN as interns to work with national politicians for six months.

Party Culture: Generally, competition and effective networks are two main aspects of internal party work. Traditional power structures coupled with resistance to or suspicion of new members by long-serving party members is common.

> *You can't say, come over, if there aren't enough places to sit in the living room or the seating is so arranged that the new arrival can't sit down.* [DE]

According to many interviewees (e.g. in DE, PL, PT) political parties often seem unattractive and appear as closed, homogenous or "elitist" organisations.

> *Nowadays, there is a strong connection between citizens and politics, but also a great disappointment with political agents' performance.* [PT]

> *Political party means factionalism. On the linguistic level the term "party" is equal to corruption, power, and terror.* [PL]

Welcoming Culture: In one country it was pointed out that the welcoming structure strongly depends on *"whether the local chairman is a nice, open person or an 'alpha male'"* [DE]. Whether or not the chairperson supports an atmosphere where group dynamics are open and egalitarian, and new members are appreciated, can be the difference between having a welcoming culture and not having one. Respondents in Sweden, Spain and Germany often referred to the barrier of too *"many meetings"* [SE] and the time and place they are held at (e.g. in pubs). Attending many meetings a week – just for the internal party work – is difficult if you are establishing yourself in a new country, are in the middle of a career and/or have children. Parties do not adapt their organisation to the diversity of its members, for example by changing meeting hours and venues. The fact that the meetings are sometimes heavily influenced by local informal structures and exclusionary practices further increases the problem.

Entrance: Many of the interviewed politicians (with and without immigrant background) had entered their party via personal contacts. Most of the politicians of immigrant background from Germany, Italy and Spain had been approached and encouraged to join by party officials. It was noted that many of the Italian and Spanish politicians of immigrant background had been active for years in associations and trade unions. In Germany, politicians of immigrant background in visible and important positions act as role models, and as such have a signal effect in a position to motivate people to party-political participation.

Networks and Introduction: In contrast, for interviewees without immigrant background political socialisation through the parties' youth organisations represents an important form of access to the political arena in Sweden and Germany. In these early times of party-political commitment personal connections are established that become important for any political career. This may make it more difficult for new members of a political party if they are facing already established, informal and historical networks when entering. The absence of early party-political socialisation can be even more intimidating for people who on grounds of their migration history do not have the necessary language skills, knowledge of the structures, or habitus that are important in political life. Furthermore, there are few systematic orientation measures like mentoring, welcoming or training programmes to help new members understand the party structure, party issues or policies.

3 Career Paths and Roles of Politicians of immigrant background

The identity marker "migrant" should not limit the party role of a politician; however, *de facto* it is relevant in political practice.[5]

In the nomination process, the most important factor supporting a person's successful nomination as candidate, is networks. These networks – both inside and outside the party – are often of an informal nature and have been established over a long period of time, e.g. in the party's youth organisation or at the local level (e.g. DE, SE, IE). For immigrants who enter the party at a later stage in life this can be an obstacle. Other individual criteria which influence a person's chances of being nominated as a candidate include competence in a topic of relevance to the party, political experience and identity criteria (e.g. gender, age, ethnicity). In areas where voters of immigrant background are to be reached a general trend can be observed that parties put more candidates of immigrant background on the lists.

In many parties party officers and leaders hold power over the list-making process. In Italy, co-optation was the main principle of promoting people of immigrant background in the party:

> *Subjective co-optation can have its advantages as it may reveal personalities that, if they were to go through the election process, might not have had the*

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5 People marked as migrant are those who, on account of their appearance (skin colour, hair and eye colour), their name or their accent are regarded as migrants by others.

chance to emerge. And, in a system that is still not entirely democratic, this may be a necessary path to take. [IT]

Several interviewees of immigrant background in Germany, Italy and Spain were placed on the list directly by party leaders. While this shows the importance of leadership to increase the representation of immigrants, there is often a lack of transparency in the list-making process, the multiplicity of interests playing a role and the – often competitive – nomination criteria. This lack of transparency can represent an obstacle to the acceptance of new politicians from diverse backgrounds within the party base. Placing people as migrant representatives, especially from outside the party, on lists in a top-down process can lead to them being viewed as "quota migrants" and not being recognised for their competences.

Interviewees in several countries remarked that party members of immigrant background are more likely to be placed on the far end of lists with no chance of entering a party position. A politician in Portugal gave an example for what he called *"fallacies of inclusion":* Parties are inviting Black citizens for non-eligible positions on local lists of candidates, while using their pictures in campaign flyers in ways that may mislead electors, making them believe those candidates will actually get elected and have a say. In Spain, Germany and Ireland a high turnover is observed among office holders of immigrant background and many remain in office for only one legislative period. It has been suggested that their lack of strong network support within the party base makes them more vulnerable to internal politicking from competitors.

Transparent representational quotas for people of immigrant background on party lists, similar to the quotas for women existing in several parties, are increasingly being seen by migrant organisations and some political representatives as a solution to political under-representation. However, quotas are a contested topic. While some interviewees felt strongly they should gain their seat on their own abilities and thought quotas were *"about quantity, not quality"* [IT], others pointed out that with dozens of people competing for candidatures, *"including immigrants on lists … can't be a priority"* [PT]. The Social Democrats in Sweden have introduced quotas for candidates of immigrant background in some parts of the country at the local level, targeting specifically migrants not from other Nordic countries. In Stockholm, a quota has been set in proportion to the population of immigrant background in the district (25 %). The implementation of the quota also requires the representation to be on the part of the list where it is highly likely that the candidates be elected. Quotas could be understood as an instrument to assure the parties' sustainable commitment to increasing the number of politicians of immigrant background and as a structural response to acknowledged structural discrimination. In Stockholm, the quota system has become *"widely accepted"* [SE] as a means to rectify political under-representation. One politician stated:

It was not because of kindness. We had to change the power structures within the party. […] I have to say, as a politician, that I still haven't met a politician that freely gives away power. [SE]

Topics of political careers: Most politicians of immigrant background reported that they had had to deal with the topic of migration and integration in their political career. While many of them brought an interest in this topic with them, others were encouraged by party colleagues to engage with it. In Italy and Spain, where the vast majority of politicians of immigrant background entered politics via involvement in "ethnic" associations, their party-political work is almost exclusively limited to the topic of immigration. A couple of representatives expressed frustration and wished not to be *"stereotyped"* and *"nailed"* to this topic [DE].

Ireland and Poland are exceptions to this. In Poland the very few naturalised MPs entered politics *"not as immigrants representing other immigrants"* [PL], but as experts in their field and representatives of their local communities. In Ireland, local party organisations ("branches") play a strong role and candidates need to be seen as local community representatives in order to be elected. Practically all migrant candidates in 2009 and 2014 focused their campaigns on improving their local environment. This strong local focus also offers the opportunity to draw attention to candidates' local identity and lessen focus on their ethnicity.

In most DIVPOL countries, migration and integration are on the one hand niche topics in which aspiring politicians can develop their political careers more easily than in a more popular and competitive political field. At the same time these niche positions limit migrants' ability to grow in influence and/or appeal to a wider electorate if running for election.

A bridging role to migrant communities is adopted by a large number of the interviewed politicians of immigrant background. This mediator position is considered as very important by many interviewees – politicians and migrant organisation representatives alike – in Spain, Italy, Portugal and Germany. Many were happy to have taken on this position. Politicians of immigrant background are described as *"best positioned within parties and within their own communities"* because they *"understand better the communities' needs and demands"* [PT]. Some interviewees, however, regarded this position as problematic, being caught between the expectations of migrant communities and their own parties. Some rejected the "matter-of-course-attitude" with which it was suggested to them and rebelled against the supposed "natural" mediator role which was ascribed to them.

An ethnicization as immigrant representatives takes place when a person is seen as representative of a (supposedly homogenous) ethnic group on the grounds of their real or assumed origin. An ethnicization is reported by fellow party members, (potential) voters with and without immigrant background and TCN. This can lead to self-ethnicization.

The ambivalence of the bridging function and ethnicization of political representatives is seen as ambiguous by some party members and migrant community representatives. On the one hand, mobilisation of migrant voters is regarded as a success for the party, but on the other, it can become a point of attack for the competition within the party, when a political representative of immigrant background is being accused by fellow party members of winning their seat *"only by the votes of immigrants"* [DE].

From the migrant and "minority" communities' perspective, politicians of migrant origin play an important role in bringing topics of relevance to immigrant communities into the parties. On the other hand, immigrant communities themselves are suspicious that political parties use the migrant politicians merely to attract the "migrant vote". Migrant representatives accuse parties of *"tokenism"* [DE] and of placing individual politicians of immigrant background as ethnic representatives, without including their diverse experiences in the parties' agendas. Dominant discourses and established power relations within the parties often remain unchallenged.

4 Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

Parties' attitudes towards diversity: In the light of demographic change, parties are perceiving people of immigrant background increasingly as a group too big to ignore. An exception within the DIVPOL countries is Poland where, due to very low numbers of immigrants, the topic of political participation of migrants is yet to feature in public debate and within political parties. In Italy, the issue of diversity is being addressed, at least in rhetoric, by all political parties. Immigration has become an electoral issue in Italy. Polarised views are evident and seen by those taking up both pro and anti immigrant positions as a way of attracting votes. In contrast, very positive views on the presence of immigrants dominate in Portugal and several interviewed politicians from across the political spectrum stated that immigration is not a divisive issue. Yet despite the political consensus around immigration issues and integration policy, political parties are unclear about the electoral relevance of immigrants in Portugal.

In Sweden and Germany all parties agree that diversity is important when it comes to representation and participation. Their logic contains a mixture of strategic and democratic argumentation. In the case of the people's parties in Germany and some parties in Spain, representation of the migrant population is part of the self-proclaimed assertion to be the "Mirror of Society". Hence, parties should reflect the diversity existing in society in quantitative terms and in all spheres of power. This is based on the assumption that a "critical mass" of party members and staff will help equalise the participation and representation of persons of immigrant background. Interviewees in Sweden and Germany made it clear that diversity is the official norm for parties and is unanimously seen as an advantage. Paradoxically, this can lead to reluctance to acknowledge instances of racism and structural barriers within the parties.

In Germany, for example, the positively connoted diversity discourse is repeatedly broken by a deficit-ridden viewpoint, which is reflected in powerful statements with symbolic meaning such as influential ascriptions made within the context of the integration discourse:

> *[She said] multiculti has failed – that is a symbol. Whoosh, full stop. That sticks in your mind. Alright, they say multiculti has failed. We have failed, we don't belong here.* [DE]

In Portugal, ethnic and racial belonging, and "Otherness" were often mentioned by Black respondents. One interviewee pointed to the fact that the country is still affected by a colonialist legacy that troubles its vision about Black people having power. Several migrant organisations' representatives (in Germany for example) felt that for parties, the concept of diversity serves as a lip service instrument for election campaigns without being sufficiently imbedded in the political culture and party structures.

Dealing with racism and discrimination: On the one hand, exclusive, discriminative or racist statements uttered in public can deter people from the party completely, especially those of immigrant background, if – as has happened in Germany – the party leadership does not distance itself sufficiently or implement disciplinary measures. Overall, too little emphasis is placed on racism and experiences of discrimination are often played down and made light of by the parties concerned. On the other hand, party committees at the district and local levels have been challenged to make transformation processes *"understandable"* [DE] for the "native" or autochthonous base. *"Waves"* [ibid] of new members of immigrant background can trigger fears of foreign infiltration among the base:

> *If someone comes along now and brings along ten new people with them and they all look different somehow – something's wrong, they've got something up their sleeves.* [DE]

In Ireland, the previous positive mood in relation to diversity has disappeared since the recession and the discussion has shifted to economic issues. Parties have been taking a cautious approach as *"they did not want to be dragged into a debate that might become divisive and ugly"* [IE]. It can be observed in some other countries that parties are reluctant to address contentious immigration issues, because they fear this might play into the hands of extreme-right parties.

Diversity networks in parties: In Sweden there is a certain reluctance to organise parties to take into account people with an immigrant background. In Spain and Germany there are on-going debates about whether or not it is better to integrate members of immigrant background into the existing participation structures or to create specific structures of participation and recognition. On the one hand, so called "safe spaces" can offer a welcoming environment and accelerate the promotion of members to party officers or candidates. Furthermore, these networks can be a way to recognise the internal diversity, to highlight visibility inside the party, and to have a platform to advocate for the diversification of the organisation. On the other hand, some members perceive these structures as "spaces without power", which can lead to segregation from the main structures of the party. In addition, they fear being perceived only as members / politicians of immigrant background and not being recognised for their talents or personal interests.

However, having networks that encourage, support and profile candidates of immigrant background similar to those for women, can perhaps address the challenge of simultaneously advancing diversity as a norm and acknowledging instances of racism. One example is the immigrant committee of the Social Democrats in Stockholm. Its organisational strength and cooperation with other

structures like the youth organisation ensures its influence on policy and the number of representatives of immigrant background, the latter by pushing for representative quotas.

In Germany, the parties have created party-affiliated organisations, working groups or political committees dealing with immigration that can act as "docking points" for the intercultural opening of the parties. In different contexts they function as lobbying organisations and as welcoming forums.

In Spain, one party has created a foundation connected to the party, in which people participate according to their geographical area of origin. It also accommodates several immigrant organisations in its headquarters and there is no need to be affiliated to the party to participate in the foundation's activities. Another party has created different structures of participation reflecting the diversity inside the party, including LGBTI people, disabled persons and other minority groups, mostly at national level.

In Ireland, two parties have an equality officer whose task is to support engagement with migrant communities and support them within the party. The officer also leads outreach efforts in collaboration with a special sub-committee in the party. The sub-committee primarily offers a space for formulating relevant policy proposals and communication.

5 Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

Role of migrant organisations: Migrant organisations (MOs) in many countries see themselves as lobbying organisations for immigrants. Many feel that political parties do not provide for adequate representation or inclusion of immigrants and that *"representation of rights and interests are left basically to associations"* [PT: MO representative]. As lobbying organisations, MOs *"exist not for fun but out of necessity"* [ibid]. MOs also make strategic use of party members who sit on their committees to set up lines of communication to parties. Often the nationwide MOs keep in regular dialogue with parties (e.g. DE, ES). In Sweden, Germany, Portugal and Spain it is stressed that MOs want to take an active role when it comes to politics. In Italy, there are on-going struggles over defining the role of associations, some regarding them as important integration players, while others fear their excessive fragmentation. In Poland, MOs are still very fresh and do not yet act as political lobbies.

Relations between political parties and migrant organisations exist in Sweden, Spain, Italy, Germany and Ireland, although of greatly varying intensity and stability. In Spain, close relations between left and socialist parties and MOs have traditionally been very important in order to reach immigrants. However, the close link to political families and the resulting clientelism can prove very problematic to MOs when the power relations in government change, as this can lead to serious deterioration of their support – both in terms of budget cuts and exclusion from consultative bodies.

Parties have an instrumental relation with MOs and often leader figures of MOs are courted by party functionaries, bringing both expertise and access to potential voters into the party:

[This person] wanted diversity in society to be reflected in politics, and that was when he called me, because I was only a base member … But he looked at the most significant and representative associations and he called me to ask me to go on his list, because he wanted a link between the party and immigration, in order to feed the party with immigrants' ideas. [ES]

In Italy and Germany, MO representatives stated that political parties utilise their networks primarily during election times. In several countries, MOs play an important role in political education, as mediators and providers of diverse educational measures, but feel that political parties do not yet fully regard them as partners on an equal footing or make use of their full potential. In Sweden for example, some MOs feel that despite their organisations doing a lot of work for the political education of their members, parties are slow to accept invitations and remain largely uninterested in sustaining co-operation. A local MP reports on the important practice of visiting small MOs in his area:

Although [our] local MPs know that you won't get anywhere with these organisations ... They can't vote. But politics also live from setting examples ... If we want to live in a society that … wants to stick together, it's important to go there, to point out that these organisations exist, that this work is being done. [DE]

Recommendations for Political Parties

Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals (TCN) in Political Parties

- Political Parties should allow TCN to become members without restrictions and open inner-party positions to non-nationals.
- Parties should evaluate existing successful outreach activities and initiatives, especially those reaching new groups, to attract people of immigrant background who are not the classic clientele of political parties. Regional groups and strategies – examples of good practice – should be structurally anchored and applied nationally as suitable. Participation opportunities for TCN and low-threshold access organisations should be established. Where they already exist, information about them should be distributed in- and outside the party.
- The effects of the practice of dual inner-party elections as symbolic co-determination on the inclusion of TCN should be examined to determine whether they should be applied on a wider scale and/or anchored in the structure.

Access / Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

- An orientation and welcoming structure is essential for a sustainable opening up of the party. A climate should be created in which everyone, regardless of their age, gender, socio-economic, educational, occupational, religious and/or ethnic background is welcome and recognised for their own specific competences and experience (culture of recognition). Parties could provide support to local initiatives and structures, e.g. local integration forums in Ireland, which creates interest in them among migrants.
- Structurally anchored mentoring programmes and membership packs would ensure that new members quickly find their place within the party. Welcoming or social events attached to a party meeting may help to make party meetings more attractive. Furthermore, in every local organisation one officer (e.g. equality officer) could be responsible for reaching out and welcoming new migrant members (as is the case in some parties in Ireland and Germany).
- Intercultural competence and awareness of diversity must be promoted at all levels within the parties. Low-threshold access organisations (youth organisations, local groups) and outreach activities (information stands etc.) must be included in this process. The established operations of parties such as meeting times should be reviewed and adapted to the diversity of its members. These measures should guarantee that interested people of diverse backgrounds are valued and welcomed into the party.

Career Paths and Roles of Politicians of Immigrant Background

- In terms of recognition it is important that politicians of immigrant background or as persons "marked" as migrants occupy public positions and are known by the population. Well-known politicians of immigrant background make it possible for others to identify with and open the space of political participation for other persons of immigrant background.
- Party leaders should be aware of their role and responsibility in the nomination processes. Nomination decisions must be clear and eligible to the party base. While symbols and role models are very important, the inclusion of candidates of immigrant background must go beyond symbolic actions and allow new perspectives to enter the dominant discourses. Tokenism and ethnicization should be avoided.
- Instead of individual-centred actions, long-term programmes and "safety measures" for minimum representation are preferable. Safety measures may include the use of quotas for different under-represented groups in order to increase diversity on nomination lists. They can be guided by successful examples in the partner countries and the experience with internal party quotas for women, which have in Sweden gained widespread acceptance over the past 15 years.
- Where inner-party diversity groups – spaces organising the participation of people of immigrant background – give recommendations to the election committee, as for example in Spain, these recommendations should have a binding character to the election committee leadership. The party leadership should agree to fixed and auspicious positions for recommended candidates on the candidate list and should also increase transparency.
- Information workshops and mentoring should be offered by the party for new candidates including migrants. Parties could find ways to help with fundraising for migrant candidates (a measure specific to Ireland). Parties should explore ways of talent spotting by engaging with local integration forums and community groups. Inner-party talent and leadership-developing schemes are good examples of this.

Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

- As parties are organised according to the principle of "loosely connected anarchy" a dual strategy for diversity development is needed (top-down and bottom-up). This requires clear concepts of leadership that can be taught in leadership courses (as happens in one party in Germany) and changes in the balance of power by the base itself.
- To counteract racial discrimination there needs to be internal party complaint mechanisms, clear leadership concepts and strong leadership personalities who promote open and honest dialogue and a general change in attitude (climate of recognition, removal of taboos concerning day-to-day racism). A more conclusive disciplinary system and positive statements at leadership level would send out a strong message.
- It is important that networks, working groups and equality officers operating as diversity agents and creating more internal awareness of diversity be widely

anchored in the structure and that they receive the support of the party leadership boards.

- In order to assess diversity development in a systematic way, it is recommended to collect and analyse monitoring data about members and office holders.

Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

- Parties should establish and maintain structural engagements with migrant organisations. Parties' interest in MOs and their clientele should not be limited to election times. Organising events in partnership, mutual invitations, and regular exchange are measures to maintain sustainable partnerships. Cooperation must take place on an equal footing and MOs must be able to provide expertise for political agenda making and to formulate policies. The inclusion of MOs as actors can facilitate different perspectives on discrimination or racism and adjust deficit-based perspectives on immigrants.
- Migrant organisations can strengthen their role in promoting and supporting political involvement and voting among their communities. Parties should support this process.

Imprint

With globalisation and worldwide migration European societies are becoming increasingly diverse. This is setting new challenges to European democracies, which need to engage each new generation in their political systems. Political parties play a key role in this process. As organisations holding legislative and governing powers, parties need to reflect diversity within their ranks. The participation of immigrants in party politics is crucial for both immigrants and the long-term cohesion of these democracies.

However, parties are still struggling with this. What can they do to increase the participation of immigrants? What barriers need to be overcome? And what arguments are there to make the case for diversity?

In the DIVPOL project, over 250 politicians and representatives of migrant organisations from seven EU-countries were interviewed to explore the factors which hinder or support diversity in political parties.